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camp there is a definite recognition of age. They are seen no longer as babies but as growing boys; but if the young men stay in the men's camp after they grow a beard it is then not so much a matter of age grading as such as it is a single status that is being recognized, since they are now at the proper age for marriage. It is marriage which takes males out of the men's camp and puts them in the general camp. The young men's camp recognizes sex, marriage status, and age. A large number of men who are past the adolescence ceremonies, that is, the totem-seeing rituals, continue in the young men's camp because they have yet to obtain a wife. Further proof that marriage is a final criterion of status is found in the fact that men who travel without their women stay in the men's camp, since at that moment they are single men and not to be classed as married. The only deviation from this of which the writer knows is that occasionally a man will stay in a brother's camp if visiting outside his own clan's territory.

In the young men's camp the oldest man takes charge and reprimands all wrongdoers with the assistance of the near relatives of the offending youths. He also gives them instructions and advice about the totemic emblems when they have seen them, and informs them on the tribal mores, tradition, and mythology. At times there may be more than one old man in the men's camp. The division of authority and power is then based on the personalities of the old men, the more dominant achieving a greater control over the boys. Such authority is more explicit here than one finds it in almost any other part of the Murngin behavior, with the possible exception of the ceremonial ritual when the leader decides when and where it shall be held.

His near female relatives carry the bones of the animal when a boy makes his first kill. It is supposed to be done for all the animals a male kills until he has a baby. The bones of the animal or bird are painted with red ocher. If a boy kills a turkey or other large bird, he does not pick it up but leaves it, returns to the camp and tells some old man. He does not say the name of the turkey but calls out "Ka-ok," the sound the turkey makes, to tell his listener what has happened so that he can pick it up. If a young man finds a porcupine (echidna), he will not kill it but goes to tell an old man of his find. If it is killed, he cannot eat it. After they have been carried by the women, the bones of the larger animals are put in a basket made by the mother for this purpose. The basket is placed near the camp and no one touches it, for it would anger the relatives of the boy and a fight would follow.

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from one of the older men: "When I was circumcised they told me all the water was monuk (salty or bad) because the flood had come and covered everything. I was told I could speak to no one except gawel and bapa and only little boys, and not to women or men."

H. The Two Circumcised Youths Are Steamed

1. A fire is built in the men's ground; the boys are steamed over it while being instructed.
2. They learn the totemic language.
3. Food taboos are placed on the older boys.
4. Yurlunggur returns to the sacred pool.

1. Next day, or shortly after, the initiates are taken to the men's ground. On the part of the ceremonial ground that is nearest the women's camp two parallel logs about a foot and a half apart are laid over two other logs placed directly over a stone fire. The stones are made red hot. Lily leaves are gathered and soaked in water, or sometimes bunch grass is dampened and used for this purpose. The boy stands on the upper logs and squats over the fire.

The dampened leaves are thrown into the fire and produce a thick steam. This pours around the boy and is supposed to enter his anus, go all through his body, and come out his mouth.

This is to make him a very "strong" man. It is to prevent him from being greedy or noticing the pangs of hunger or thirst. It is to help insure his having plenty of kangaroo, fish, and other animal and vegetable food.

The old men warm their hands over the fire and put them to the boy's mouth while they are addressing him: "You must not use obscene language. You must never tell a lie. You must not commit adultery, nor go after women who do not belong to you. You must always obey your father and respect your elders. You must never betray the secrets that you have learned from us to the women or the boys who have not been circumcised."

While they are speaking they also rub the navel of the child, for this is also supposed to make him "strong" and prevent him from being greedy.

2. The leader starts the round of totemic songs he used earlier in the Djungguan ceremony and conducts the singing with his singing sticks. The boys are taken off the fire and placed on the ground. A man brings a piece of paper bark on which several small pieces of food have been placed. Every variety of food obtainable in the camp at

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that time is represented on the bark tray. The boy is given a piece of kangaroo meat or some other food and an old man says, "That is not kangaroo. You tell me the name of that which you're eating. What is it?"

An old man sits beside the youth and whispers a totemic name of the animal into the ear of the boy. The boy then calls out this esoteric name as he swallows the food. As he says the totemic name all the men cry out, "Yai!!! yai!!!" The whole list of foods is gone through, the boy eating them and being told the taboo name of each. Even though the food is not represented on the bark tray, its name is told him and another pellet takes the place of the missing edible. During the ritual the little boys are informed that if they impart any of the information they have been given, "something will happen to their mothers," and that the old men will spear them if they inform any of the women or children. They are told that the old men will know by magic if they betray their secrets. All the men insist that a boy would be killed if he gave away the secrets of the men.—When the ritual is finished, the fire and logs are covered with sand and earth, and men and boys return to the main camp.

The newly circumcised boys are kept away from all women and remain with the men until the wound is healed and they can walk and urinate without pain or effort. Then the pubic coverings they have been wearing, the ones in which the women saw them before circumcision, are taken off; a short song is played over them and they are burned, others being placed on the boys to symbolize the change in biological and social status. The boys are watched over most carefully by the men during the entire ceremony, as well as during a period after the circumcision. Some older man is always with them. This attention is given both to keep them away from the women and because it is felt that during a circumcision initiation a boy should have every luxury given him and the best of everything that the group has to offer.

Older boys show greater emotion and expression of pain than the younger ones when they are operated upon. The younger ones stop crying almost immediately after the operation.

3. The older age grade of youths who have been shown the totemic emblem of the python for the first time (see Section F, 4) are put on a vegetable diet for a period determined by the leader of the ceremony, ordinarily about a week. At the end of the period the young men are taken to the men's ceremonial grounds where they are painted by

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but the power name is not given to the food for them. The natives agree that this food is eaten because all Wongar yolno did the same thing. If the leader gives the food with his name to it to his friends from another tribe, his own clanspeople would wait until there was an opportunity and kill him, because they do not want to have that name go to another tribe.—All my most reliable informants gave me this information.

Yiritja and Dua both eat this food, providing they are from one country, which really means, if they are closely related. My most intelligent informant said this: "Dorng and Ilkara [two men of the Liaalaomir group] can eat our food which has a big name because their sister married one of our people. It is all right for the Ritarngo to eat Warumeri and Wangurri food which has a big name because we have one ranga, because we are friends. Sometimes we give our ranga from the Warumeri side to the Ritarngo and they give us rangas from the land side. That is because that duck came from the Ritarngo to us in Wongar days."

2. The string is taken from the totemic emblems, wrapped around the hand into a neat ball, and placed in a basket. The carved-log ranga (see page 340) is hidden once more in the mud of the ceremonial leader's totem well. It is said that the leader likes to have them all remain there. The men can eat no animal food, but only bush (vegetable) food, until they have been painted. The old men say to them, "You must do what we tell you. Put your head and ears to these things. You don't want to swear at your old men or your big brothers. You want to talk a good way to them. We don't want you to steal. You don't want to go running after other men's women." The old men also tell the younger ones which rangas belong to the different totemic wells and which wells belong to the various clans. This ends the Dua Narra ceremony.

Native Interpretation.—The old men say, "This makes one people."

THE YIRITJA NARRA CEREMONY

A. Preparation

1. The same general preparations are made as those before the Dua Narra.

1. The Yiritja Narra ceremony parallels the Dua Narra rites. After a log has been cut, scraped, and carved, the leader sends out word to the various surrounding clans that a Narra is to be held. A Duni

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crayfish, garrawark, barrimundi, whale and whale rib; but the high rangas, such as black duck's egg and large basket, will not be displayed.

The chorus of men and the leader start dancing again on the Narra dance ground. They dance spring floods and salt water. The old men hold their totemic emblems in front of them in the same way that the Dua do, except that they are supposed to be representing the movement of the fresh-water flood down to the sea and the movement of the sea back again. The young initiates stand in front of them at the head of the Narra grounds. Two men stand beside them and instruct them in the meanings of the dances and of the totems. When the garrawark totem is carried, it is thrust in the ground, and the various totemic wells it is supposed to have formed are named. The leader then calls out the power names of garrawark. He next calls out the power names of spring floods while the men dance back and forth. This is supposed to represent the original fresh-water flood which carried all the totemic emblems down to the sea. The chorus next dances crayfish. Their hands are moved jerkily to imitate its movements. They whisper "E—e—e—." The leader calls out the sacred name of the crayfish.

Native Interpretation.—See Dua Narra.

J. The Higher Totems Are Shown (See the Dua Narra).

K. The Sacred Bread Is Eaten and the Ceremony Concluded (See the Dua Narra).

The Yiritja Narra is concluded with the eating of the totemic bread in the men's ground after the old men have displayed the higher totems to one another. The boys are admonished to conduct themselves according to the tribal standards, and food taboos are placed upon them. (See the Dua Narra.)

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nighttime when I heard this and I thought if I went to my mother she would hide me and I could sleep. I asked her to hide me under her sleeping mat. She put me there but said I would have to be cut. She said all men had to have that done to them for it was like that (page 261). 159 852

Next day, when it was time for me to be circumcised, my galles, who were big men, caught me and took me from my mother. All the women got spears and they pretended to fight the men. They threw spears without spear-throwers. They did not hurt anybody. It was a little bit like fun. I thought, "Those women are fighting for me." It made me feel good. The men made a ring around me and took me. They chased the women away. I was taken to the sacred ground of the great Bapa Indi, where the men held their ceremonies to celebrate the fact that they were Dua (pages 29-33).

I thought I was going to see a real python. When I stood and looked at the leaves and piled up earth that surrounded the dance ground I thought that big snake would come out there. I stood at the head of the ground with another little boy who was also going to be circumcised and two old men stood beside us (pages 265-266). Two dancers came. They were all painted, but I was too little and I did not know what their paint meant. One old man said they were Wongar kangaroos (pages 271-274). He also said, "When you get through with this ceremony you can't talk any more to any of your people except your father and your mari and to the little boys." He said if I did talk a little bird which was all the same as a spirit would listen to me and come and tell all the old men and the old men would kill my mari and my mother and kill me. They would have a bad medicine and do it. [867]

All the dancers who come out in the circumcision ceremony appeared. While they came the two old men told me the story of the two Wawilak sisters who made the world and our life the way they are today (pages 250-259). In one of the dances several old men ran at us little boys, holding spears in their spear-throwers and pretending they were going to kill us with them. We were very afraid but we did not show it. We stood still. Then they told us that this was the way Wangurri people were and this was the way our fathers and our grandfathers had always acted and that they had never been afraid and they always had been great fighters. After this they took us away, back to the bush which separated the men's ceremonial ground from the main camp of the women. Some old men stayed with us. When we had been there a few moments we could hear the roar of Yurlunggur, the great Father Python of the Dua moiety (pages 265-266). He seemed very near. I tried not to tremble, but I was very afraid. The old men told me he was more than a real snake. He was a spirit. The old 159 852 869

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159 852 869 men told me he was the great Father Python who had come in the spirit and was made true for us black men at this ceremony for him. They said when I grew older I could see him, but that now I was too little and that my eyes were not strong enough and that it took much "power" to look at him like old men must have when they see him.

159 852 After a little while I heard all the men calling out with some strange sounds. I knew later that they were using the cry of a wedge-tailed eagle. They were beating their spears with their spear-throwers. They came nearer and nearer and finally two of them picked us up and put our legs around their necks and over their shoulders. We rode on their backs as we marched to the main camp where the women were. When they carried me on their shoulders I thought they were sure to kill me. I was more afraid. I held my head down and shut my eyes. I thought first, "Maybe they will kill me," then I would think, "No, maybe they are going to burn me." I would think back and forth like that. When we got in the women's camp they took me down from off the man's shoulders and one man lay down on the ground and I was placed on top of him and some other men held me with my legs spread apart so that I could not move. I cried and cried. Just before they did this one old man gave me a drink of water. When I started crying one of the men put a small basket in my mouth for me to bite on and so the women couldn't hear my crying. All the men had surrounded me and I was in the middle of a circle. I could hear the women crying while they danced around our circle (pages 286-288).

[304] One man took a stone spear and broke it and took a small piece of it and cut the skin from off the head of my penis. Then I was picked up and a man ran with me back to the men's ground. I was crying and crying, for I was very afraid and the cutting had hurt me. When we got near the men's ground he put me down by a small fire and took some water and washed where I had been cut and took his hands and put them over the fire and heated them and placed them over my penis. This made me feel much better. I was thirsty. I asked for water. The old men said that while we had been out in that ground the whole world had been covered with salt water again because the tide had come in and covered everything. There was no drinking water now, he said. They told me this for one day and would not let me drink. All that day I went without water; next day they gave me some (pages 287-288).

159 783 852 A day or two after I had been cut some old men took me, with my father, to the men's ground. When we got there I found they had two logs laid down and two more laid across them. They were placed over some stones that were as hot as fire. A big fire had been built over these stones to make them hot, before the logs were placed on top of them. All the old men were